

walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors. Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates.

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuaha Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

329

posed or artificial reasons for each move is the ⁵²⁴ most difficult part of the game, because it will vary according to the order of each of the moves that preceded it. When four play, they sit as in our game of whist, but each is the antagonist of the one opposite to him; and when one has got out his five sticks, he assists his partner by taking one or two of his sticks, and continuing to play. The rapidity with which these motions are made is almost incredible, and no inexperienced eye can catch one of them: the eagerness with which they play, the enthusiasm which they work themselves into, the readiness with which those that are clever give the requisite explanation to every combination of signs, always appear very extraordinary to a stranger.

Fanna Kalai: for a description of this sport, ⁰⁰⁰ see Vol. I. p. 234.

Fanna Gooma, or rat-shooting: for a description of this sport, see Vol. I. p. 267.

Jia Loobe, catching pigeons with a net. This ²²³ is not a very usual sport at present, though formerly it used to be. The net used for the purpose is small, with a narrow opening, affixed to the end of a rod of about twelve feet in length: the sportsman who holds it is concealed in a small cabin about five feet high, nearly in form of a bee-hive, in which there is a perpendicular

223 slit dividing it quite in half, by which he can
● 345 move his rod completely from side to side.
There are eight or nine of these cabins, in each
of which perhaps there is a sportsman with his
net: the only mode of entrance is by separating
the two halves of the cabin from each other.
These receptacles are usually situated round
225 the upper part of a raised mount. On the out-
side of each there is a trained pigeon tied by
the leg, and near at hand stands an attendant
with another trained bird, tied in like manner
to the end of a very long line, which is suffered
to fly out to the whole extent of the string, the
other end being held by the man: the pigeon
thus describes a considerable circle in the air
round the mount beneath: the flight of this
bird, and the constant cooing of those below,
attract a number of wild pigeons to the neigh-
bourhood, when the man by checking the string
calls in his pigeon, which immediately perches
upon his finger: he then conceals himself with
the other attendants, in a sort of alcove at the
top of the mount. The wild pigeons now ap-
proaching the tame ones, are caught in the
nets by the dexterous management of the
sportsmen.

226 *Alo*, catching Bonito. This is performed by
a line and hook affixed to a long bamboo, and
is so placed that the line falls very near the

- 599 8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the
584 work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just
[176] the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.
9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-73) is remembered as the one who divided
the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred
matters.
10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by
Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and in-
efficient.
11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and
figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.
- 502 12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked
[644] men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in
dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl
has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a
reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplish-
555 ments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree
[524] at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.
13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust
for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are
mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of
great chiefly families.
- 823 14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divi-
565 sions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people im-
649 mediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (com-
361 pare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohoma-
644 fua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha
[102] where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and
important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a
compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamo-
tonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan
Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with
the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.
15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and
Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take
the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka
"heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."
16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu,
though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other ex-
tremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man
whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling
her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will
hear something about the man she has rejected.
17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.
- 345 18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was
connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he
was a descendant of Tungi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern
Tongatabu.
- 481 19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the
western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untraveller, or
incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua
could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore;
he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all
sorts of places.
20. One copy reads *S'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach
of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *S'i
anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Ton-
gan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which
fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*,
a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to 'au na luma, is more likely than that
the change was made in the opposite direction.

- place at sea, a reef, where the *tolu* are plentiful. Probably it is the proper name of a reef or stretch of sea. Halakakala is a fishing ground, a reef, of the Tui Tonga, near Eueiki. Haa Maafu is the Tui Tonga; Haa Ngata, the great house of which the Tui Kanokupolu is head. These may not be literally the names of sea localities, but introduced figuratively, because of the connection he claimed with both these houses. Tupou, the title of the Tui Kanokupolu, is also the name of several localities (21). The one whose fame is spoken of is Ulamoleka himself, named in the next line the king of the men of the ocean.
31. Here is portrayed the grief and indignation in various localities in Tonga when they hear of the affront that Ulamoleka has suffered.
32. Matamoana and Halaevalu are names of two pigeon-snaring mounds in Tonga-tabu.
33. Anganangana (Whispering hedge) is said to be a locality in Hihifo, Tongatabu. Probably it is a sanctuary, and the meaning is that the power of the temple has not been sufficiently potent for success in the undertaking.
34. Nakau and Fungaana are place names distributed in various parts of the group. Gifford notes a Fungaana in Niua Toputapu. Doubtless there is a Nakau in Niua Toputapu also.
35. Luatangata is a star name, and probably so is Alovalu. Vaca is a chief. Luatangata and Alovalu may be the nicknames of chiefs.
36. Pouvalu is noted by Gifford as the name of a house of the Tui Tonga.
37. A reminiscence of some voyage may be indicated or merely the wide extent of his travels. Probably also a hint is made of his high connections, which extend to Samoa. Tutuila is in eastern Samoa, and the Tui Kanokupolu is connected with the lords of Manua in eastern Samoa. Up until quite recently it was customary for the Tui Kanokupolu to acknowledge the connection by visits to the Tui Manua.
38. A sign of good seamanship is to come to the anchorage with the sail, instead of working in with oars. Kolongahau is a famous harbor of the Tui Tonga in Mua.
39. Lala is the name of a tree. This launching place is not now known. Evidently it was marked by a lala tree, or by a clump of these trees.
40. "I shall no longer base my claim to better treatment on my connection with chiefs; I shall leave that boat of high connection and strike out relying only on my own merits."
41. "Even though the way is not so good, yet I shall strike out on it."
42. Longoakau and Alakihaafata are the names of localities in which is spread the report of the prowess of Ulamoleka.
43. In the bonito fishing if a boat were full of fish, and yet caught more, the tails of the fish which could not be taken to shore were broken off, the mutilated fish were thrown back into the sea and the tails taken as trophies.
44. Haa Loau occurs as a place name in several parts of Tonga. Probably the locality indicated is in Lifuka, Haapai, where is Tongoleleka, mentioned in the next line. A scion of the Tui Tonga house still lives at Tongoleleka.
45. Probably a double strand of meaning is intended: that Ulamoleka's love will be consoled by some other woman, although it has gone through such unquiet waters, and also that his long poem is almost ended, although the bark of poesy has sailed seas of unfriendliness and misrepresentation.
46. The simile of pigeon-snaring is again employed. If there be an uneven number of birds there is great difficulty in netting them; since the odd bird flies hither and thither, seeking a mate and so disturbing all the flock. Hence, the girl Ulamoleka went to marry is a restless pigeon flying about in all directions so that he can not capture her.
47. This line is omitted in the copy printed in Koe Makasini.
48. House of the snarers (*fale faao*) is not the house on the mound where the snaring is actually done, but the house near the mound in which the cooking for the sportsmen was done.
49. "I shall make no further effort to catch this strong, far-ranging pigeon, who does not wish to be caught by me, and perhaps after all I am just as well out of it. One never knows what he has got in pigeon-hunting—and in marriage." The expression *tufa mei vao*, distributed from the bush, means "the catch is not taken home to the village and there gone through and allotted, but the distribution is done on the mound itself, and one does not see very well what he has got, but just takes his luck."

6. A number of localities bear the name Toku. If the island off Vavau is indicated, the wind would be from the north. 539
7. Fakanumuli is a tract near the sea front of Lifuka. Alaimuitoa lies to the west of Fakanamuli. 823
8. Velitua is possibly the pool in which Finau bathed just before the assassination of Tupou Niuu (Mariner, vol. 1, p. 129). 103
9. The meaning of *kumi*, translated cloth, is really a measure of cloth. [192]
10. Tongoleleka (Short mangrove) has become the proper name of a locality in Lifuka, occupied by a large village.
11. Tofua, the lofty volcanic island, and its still loftier neighbor Kāo, are about 35 miles to the westward from Lifuka. The shore of Lifuka, about which the latter part of this poem centers gives a fine view of these two mountain islands. The setting sun throws about them wonderful and ever-changing beauties.
12. Tohonakao is the summit of Kao. It is not clear what is meant by "Tohonakao that is peopled." Tofua was inhabited until quite recent times, the people removing because the volcano erupted. People still have their gardens there, and visit them from neighboring islands. But there seems no record of Kao being peopled to its summit. [361] [731]

Page 105. In praise of Vavau

1. Taunga; one of the islands of Vavau; Keila, a locality on Taunga.
2. Tapana, Motuha, and Hunga are islands of Vavau.
3. Pautua is an unidentified locality in Vavau.
4. Vaihingano (Water of hingano flower) is evidently the name of a stream or pool in Vavau. Better known is the stream Vaisingano, near Apia, in Samoa, which is also the name of a Samoan chiefly house (26, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77).
5. Veafakanuu and Kavenga are unidentified localities in Vavau.
6. There is a *Faleula* in Samoa. This name has been explained by an excellent Tongan informant as equivalent to *falefoiva*, house of dancing.
7. Siaafine (Mound of women) and Kavafakaua are two pigeon-snaring mounds near Feletoa. [345]
8. The places mentioned in this line seem to be near Feletoa also.
9. The translation of this line is only a conjecture.
10. The localities named in this context are unidentified. Uluipuaka is also given as a correct reading for Tulunipuaka.
11. Toafaava is an open tract near Haalafuli (21).
12. The *ngahu* is a shrub that grows on the shore. High-water mark is called *mata-ngahu* (edge of the *ngahu*). [137] [192]
13. Anamanu is near Haalafuli (21).
14. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. The reference to the "jest of Tongatabu that has been carried too far" is not clear but evidently it is something that makes light of the claims of Kafoa. The jest may have been of the bard himself, as he is a Tongatabu man. One copy would be translated "Tongatabu hath appeared too much"; that is, has been made too much the theme of poetical compositions, overlooking the claims of places like Kafoa. 539 823
15. The word *kafongalu* means literally a wound of breakers, that is, of surfing; and so it is applied to a wound given or received in sport or jest. [192]
16. The battle here is the give and take of repartee and joke. "It is fair, the falling in battle."
17. The house in Neiafu is a sanctuary. "If it leak" means if it be unable to afford effective shelter to suppliants because its god is not sufficiently powerful to withstand the gods of their enemies. Ngaakau is a locality in the village of Tefisi, belonging to the chief Luani. Clearly there was a sanctuary there, which is thought to have been associated with the chief Fakafanua. [718]
18. Lahakau is felt in Tonga to be a borrowing from Fiji, where, however, the form Lasakau would be expected. It is said that the districts in Fiji subject to Bau were called Lahakau, and that the people tended gardens, and did other tasks of the kind, for Bau. [192]

Page 105. Weather coast of Vavau

1. This is, in part at least, a love poem. The theme of the lines beginning "The landsman made a complaining" is amorous and many of the localities mentioned have

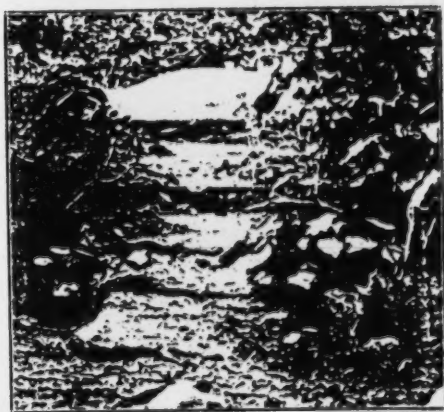
539 Page 108. Poem of Lata

- [539] 1. This poem is called *tatoka*, which is the plural of the verb *toka*, sleep (of chiefs). The poet spends the night with the chief, and amuses him and whiles away some of the hours by reciting this piece to him. The author seems to be a man of Vavau in rivalry with a bard of Tongatabu. Two bards may have recited in rivalry to amuse the chief, who would be judge and award a prize to the winner.
2. Probably the rival poem is referred to.
- [669] 3. These lines introduce allusions to the fighting of Vavau and Haapai with Tongatabu in the early nineteenth century. It is not necessary to assume that the bard himself actually took part in any of the battles; but perhaps like the warriors, has come over the sea on a visit of rivalry to Tongatabu.
- [82] 4. *Uluakiheilala* (first *heilala*) is a sweet-scented flower, prized both for garlands and for oil making. Here it is the nickname of some great chief.
- [551] 5. *Kanakana* is a name found in several parts of Tonga; this pool is probably in Teeki.
- [103] 6. The meaning of this line and the one following is that danger is threatening the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs of Hihifo generally. *Motuapuaka* is one of the *matapu* of the Tui Kanokupolu. As in Finau's war, danger to Hihifo came from Vavau, the prestige of Tongatabu in verse is threatened by a man from over the sea, and it looks very much like another of *Mamaeapoto*'s poems composed in rivalry with *Falepapalangi*.
- [528] 7. The course of the fighting is described with metaphors from pigeon-snaring. *Matamonana* is the name of a *zia* (there may have actually been fighting in its vicinity) the first phase of the contest being unpromising, the sport is moved to the sea flats. Though the Vavau warriors are regarded as the victors in this battle, yet it led to no permanent conquest. (See p. 90.)
- [103] 8. *Nuku* is given by Gifford as the name of a number of islets and localities scattered through Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau; Lata, as localities in Haapai and Niua Foa; *Fafnemohuanga* is not mentioned, but Gifford notes two islets of Vavau named *Fafini* on an Admiralty chart, which he conjectures to be a misspelling of *Fafine*. One of these may or may not be *Fafnemohuanga* (Women abounding in characteristics, that is capricious). The poet may mean that he is building figuratively a canoe of which the parts are various localities; or, that he calls on these places to furnish the different parts of the canoe.
- [103] 9. *Matoto*; a place in Vavau.
10. "Wonder-surf," so called because of its distance from land.
11. The poet leaves his figurative language and speaks more directly.
12. The companion would seem to be the rival and the poet says that if he does not do very well himself his rival does no better.
- [345] 13. In the "net-house" implements of the sport of pigeon-snaring were kept. Here metaphorically, it is the place where the contests of bards, and the general festivity of the occasion, were carried on.
- [555] 14. The cloth is presented to the bards as a reward.
- [551] 15. *Mapaihangane* is a nickname of a chief. The *mapaihangano* are the smaller segments of the fruit near the stem of the *hala* fruit, and the name would be that of a chief who was not the greatest, yet still perhaps a great chief. This chief might be the greatest living one, but bearing a name to which some earlier chief had given greater luster.
16. The theme of the song is *Haafuluhaio* (Vavau), which appeals to the open (wise) mind with pleasing effect.
17. Here two meanings are introduced. The poet, a Vavau man, can not stay long in his own country, but must come to Tongatabu to entertain people there; and, keeping up the idea of composing poetry that celebrates Vavau, he soon returns from the excursion of his muse to that country to sing of Tonga.
18. The bard vaunts his successes: people come from long distances to hear him, and would be disappointed were he not there; even royalty is interested in talking about him.
- [226] 19. When a boat has on board as many sharks as she can carry, and the opportunity comes to take another shark, the noose with which the shark is caught is slipped over its head and then withdrawn. This is *faka-kahoo*, literally putting on a necklace.

172
 764



A



B

172
 345



C

A, STAIR-LIKE RAMP ASCENDING THE LANGI KATOX AT MUA, TONGATABU;
 B, RAMP ASCENDING THE LANGI OLOVERU, HIIHIO, ISLAND OF LIFUKA; C, IN-
 CLINED RAMP ASCENDING THE ARTIFICIAL MOUND SHUMAFUATA, TONGATABU,
 SHOWN NEAR ITS OUTER END.

[End Plate 2]

ARTIFICIAL MOUNDS AND PLATFORMS

CLASSIFICATION

172 Most ancient Tongan structures of mound or platform type may be
 34 classified as belonging to one of four groups: (a) *esi* mounds; (b) pigeon
 128 mounds; (c) house platforms, and (d) grave mounds. A few mounds
 with strong individual peculiarities and a few difficult to identify are, for
 convenience in presentation, treated as one group, (e) unclassified mounds.
 In this class are included the very rare stone walled house mounds. In gen-
 eral, this classification is based both on purpose, as recorded by tradition or
 determined by history, and on structural form. Purpose seems to have de-
 termined basic peculiarities in form.

ESI MOUNDS

172 An *esi* mound is essentially an area (usually in the form of a raised
 345 platform) reserved as a place of resting or siesta for members of a particular
 [565] chiefly family, or for a particular member of a chiefly family. It was situ-
 ated at a favorable point commanding a splendid view or frequented by cool
 breezes, or at a natural resting place intermediate between two important
 [565] stations of a long journey. The use of these mounds seems to have been con-
 nected with the idea, prevalent in Tonga, that the exalted social position
 of the chieftain should be accompanied by material exaltation, and also, that
 social superiority involves the privilege of isolation from common contacts.

345 The use of *esi* mounds has survived, to some extent, as a modern com-
 [178] plement to ancient tradition. At Vaini, Tongatabu, a rectangular platform
 [643] which consists of concrete walls enclosing earth and sand, is the *esi* of
 King George I Tupou, built at his command in the nineteenth century. Small
esi, consisting of prone coconut logs disposed to retain fills of sand, were
 observed at various places on the island of Tongatabu and were reported
 to be in regular use.

345 There are two radically different structural types of *esi*, the rectangular
 172 and the circular. The most common form is the rectangular platform, of
 which the poorest are those with retaining walls of coconut logs, perhaps
 the primitive type. The best examples have retaining walls of dressed stone
 slabs and attain imposing dimensions. The circular structures, with few
 exceptions, are retained by walls of undressed stones piled roughly one upon
 the other, converging toward the top of the mound.

Rectangular platform *esi* were seen in all three of the island groups
 which constitute Tonga and the finest two circular platforms are in Vavau
 and Tongatabu—at opposite ends of the Tongan archipelago (pp. 11, 18). The

distribution of *esi*, therefore, is not related to structure. All the circular *esi* 345 observed are apparently of ancient origin, but some of the square *esi* are 172 certainly of quite recent origin. According to this very unsatisfactory evidence, the circular type might be interpreted to be the older of the two.

Tradition, history, field investigation, and comparative study have led to [28] the classifying of the following mounds as *esi*.

1. Circular mounds on the east side of Euakafa Island, Vavau, at a spot where cool breezes and a fine view are dominant features (fig. 1).

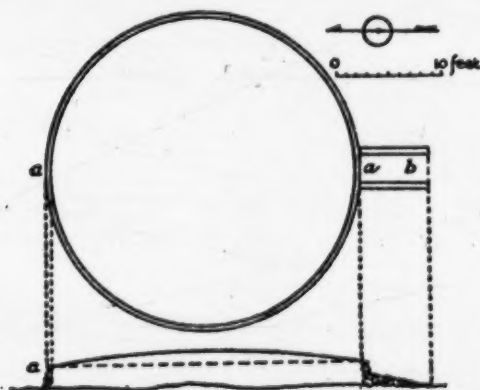


FIGURE 1.—Plan of *esi* mound on Euakafa Island, height 3 feet, diameter 30 feet. *a*, retaining wall 2 feet high, 1 foot thick; *b*, approach 6 feet long, 4 feet wide.

One mound is partly surrounded by a retaining wall made of blocks of undressed coral limestone piled one upon the other. The top of the mound is red earth brought from a nearby place. An approach of earth, supported by walls of undressed stones, ascends the mound from the south.

About 40 feet south of this mound is the second mound, very like the first in size, general shape and natural setting, but lacking the retaining wall and inclined approach.

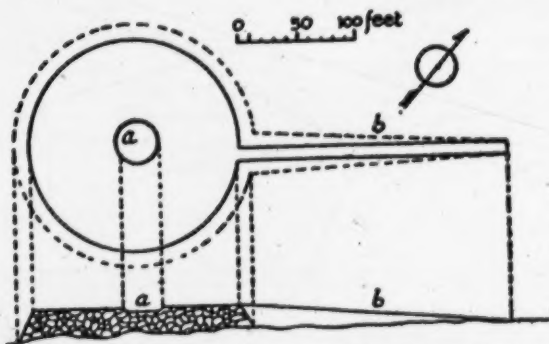
2. Mound situated on Kafoa, a hill 420 feet high about 2 miles north-west of Neiafu, Vavau (fig. 2).

Kafoa is a circular earth mound retained by walls of rough coral stones which vary greatly in size. In the approximate center of the top is a slightly oval pit lined with rough coral stones that act as a retaining wall.

From the northwest, an earth road rises from the hill top to the top of the mound. (491) The dirt sides of the roadway observe an angle of about 45°. Many large toa trees (37) (*Caesalpinia*), not indigenous to this locality, are growing about the top rim. Kafoa commands the best view to be had of Vavau and it is said that a cool breeze is to be enjoyed here at all times.

- 173 The *esi* on Kafoa hill is said to have been built at an ancient date for Kafoa, a son of one of the native kings. One account gives the name of the prince as Kafoamotalau; another (13, pp. 96-98) names two princes, Kafoa and Talau (Kafoamotalau), and states that these royal youths from Tongatabu were visiting in Vavau. Two of their attendants, who had been sent by their masters to Tongatabu to snare pigeons, were unfaithful to

345
172



[491] FIGURE 2.—Plan of *esi* mound on Kafoa Hill, Neiafu, Vavau, height 7 to 10 feet; diameter at base 100 feet, diameter at top 85 feet: a, central pit about 1 foot deep and 13 feet in diameter; b, earth roadway 115 feet long, 6.5 feet wide with a grade of about 10°.

- 173 their mission and returned to Vavau without the pigeons. To atone for this disobedience, they set about to build an *esi* on the hill which is now called Kafoa. When it was finished, they told Kafoa and Talau of their transgression and of their atonement. The young chieftains were pleased and proposed to race to the *esi*, the winner's name to be applied to the mound. Kafoa won.

- 173 This story mentions various points of interest apparently associated with the mound, most of the places could not be located. The beach *manutunfanga* (where the birds stand) is just below the hill; many sea birds were observed to congregate there. Parts of the road *tausio*, ascending the hill from the beach, were identified (p. 89). The *halanukonuka* (road of sweet scented shrubs) is said to be the road which still follows the crest of the ridge leading up from the interior of the island toward the mound and along which many flowering shrubs are still to be seen. The *halakavakava* (bridge road) may refer to the long inclined approach leading to the top of the mound.

- 173 The artificial mound *tofaki* could not be located. The names of ornamental trees associated with the mound, *tupouhau* (*hau*, king) and *kainangamofae* (place of eating with mother), suggest that the structure was an *esi*.

There seems to have been many named ornamental trees growing on and about Kafoa. Among these were the great *ake* called Tukungaalofoa, the *heilala* called Mamatataaemaukava (The-onlookers-who-brought-no-kava), two *hehe* trees called Hafeofafine, a large "almond" called Vakaikaevete (Look-while-it-is-undone), and a large hala (*fala*; *Pandanus*) called Kikatenofa (Squeal-and-I-will-stay). 172
137

The story mentions a row of eight stones, where pigeon snares were set, as situated near the mound Kafoa and associated with the big *ake* and *tutuna* trees where pigeons were made to fly, and a house called Kolonga situated near the pigeon mound. Neither of these sites, if indeed they ever existed, could be located. The reference is undoubtedly to a pigeon mound (p. 19). 172
173
345
342

The evidence furnished by these traditions and by the structural peculiarities of the mound, gives occasion for doubt as to whether Kafoa was an *esi* or a pigeon mound. The mention of pigeon snaring and the presence of the central pit on the top of the mound indicates a pigeon mound. The natives, most of whom consider the mound as an *esi*, explain the presence of the pit in various ways: the place where a *heilala* tree was planted; the chief's bathing place; the place where the chief sat; the cooking place; the site of a house. But they do not satisfactorily explain why a pit should be constructed in which to plant a tree, why a chief should choose to sit at an elevation lower than that of his attendant social inferiors (a drastic breach of Tongan etiquette) or what an oven was doing on a chief's *esi* (only commoners cooked and they were not permitted to go onto a chief's *esi*). The explanation that the pit was a bathing place is reasonable but savors of rationalization. On the other hand, one informant, who described the place as a pigeon mound, actually gave a more or less detailed description of how the pit was used for that purpose. In Haapai and Tongatabu there are mounds of this type intimately associated with typical pigeon mounds, but some of these are consistently called *esi*. 172
345
(576)
(252)

The place is generally looked upon as an *esi* and the myth relating of its origin favors this interpretation. It is difficult to understand why a great number of ornamental shrubs and trees, many of them highly valued for their fragrant blossoms and some of them actually monopolized in use by chieftains of high rank, should be planted about a pigeon mound. The translations of the names of some of these trees: The-onlookers-who-brought-no-kava, Look-while-it-is-undone, Squeal-and-I-will-stay, have no apparent reference here to pigeon snaring. On the other hand, the mention of kava suggests the use of the place for kava ceremonies, associated with *esi*. As for the central pit, there are in Tonga other so-called *esi* similarly equipped (p. 18), although the use of the pit remains unaccounted for. (247)
(565)

As a matter of fact, the truth is probably generous to both explanations. The evidence clearly indicates an *esi* and the interpretation of the structure

172 as a pigeon mound also has some foundation. It seems probable that there
 345 was a type of *esi* specially used by chiefly persons while visiting favorite
 [223] hunting grounds. Pigeon snaring from artificial mounds was a chiefly sport.
Esi conveniently adjoining the pigeon mounds would permit a chief, at times
 when active hunting tired or bored him, to sit in a pleasant shade, sur-
 rounded by fragrant flowers, and view from his elevated position the acti-
 vities of his hunting henchmen.

3. Mound on the beach just below the town of Utungake, Utungake
 Island, Vavau.

This mound, which is said to be an *esi*, consists of a stone wall surrounding three
 sides of a rectangular area. The fourth side, facing the sea, was destroyed a number
 of years ago by a hurricane. Previous to that, the stone enclosure is said to have been
 nearly filled with earth and sand to constitute a platform.

[324] The retaining wall inclosing an area 15 feet by 30 feet is constructed of rectangular
 slabs of coral stone set on edge, each stone being set about 1 foot into the ground
 to insure its vertical position. The stones are smoothly dressed and rather sharply
 edged, although there is no apparent mark of steel tools upon them. They average
 0.7 foot in thickness, 2 feet in height above the ground, and range from 2 to 6 feet
 in length. All stones are of even height with the exception of monumental stones
 placed one at each corner and one approximately at the center of each side. The seven
 of these eight stones now standing average 3 feet in height; the highest measures 4.7
 feet. They are specially shaped by cutting an ornamental upper edge, some resembling
 the old-fashioned tablet form of European grave headstones (fig. 3).

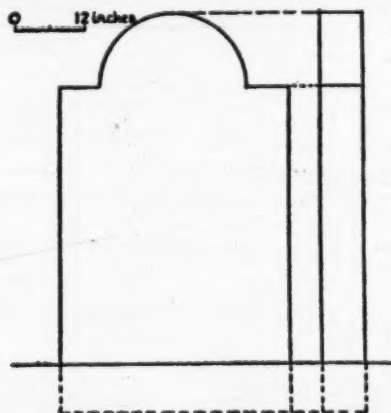


FIGURE 3.—Plan of monumental stone in an *esi* mound near Utungake, Utungake
 Island, Vavau.

The shape of the mound at Utungake suggests European influence, but
 the fact that similar forms of monumental stones appear in a ruin on Fan-
 ning Island, recently investigated by Emory (7), undoubtedly of Tongan

construction, obviates the necessity of assuming outside influence. Old residents of Utungake report that the *esi* was built before their time in honor of a chieftain by the name of Tuita. But as Tuita is a family title rather than a personal name, and there have been Tuitas in every generation for a long time, the name furnishes no information as to the age of the structure.

4. Pitoopapuni (Umbilical-cord-of-Papuni) mound on a hill top on the northeast end of Tofua Island, Vavau.

The mound is 1 foot in average height with a flat circular top 11 feet in diameter. It is made of earth retained on all sides by a circle of rough coral stones. Many *toa* (*Casuarina*) trees are growing on and about the mound; they are the only ones seen on the island. The site offers a splendid view of the surrounding islands and is exposed to breezes that do not visit the lower places. This mound is described by local residents as the place where the umbilical cord of a chief, Papuni, reputed to have been a prince of the Tui Tonga dynasty was buried.

The burial of umbilical cords in *esi* mounds, as well as in other types of mounds was a common practice. The original name and purpose of this *esi* was probably overshadowed by the very high rank of Papuni, who became associated with the mound through the umbilical cord ceremony. The renaming of points of interest seems to have been a rather common occurrence.

5. Siakanume (*sia*, mound; *kanume*, possibly derived from *kano*, abbreviation of *kakano*, the inside or heart, and *mei*, the breadfruit tree, the mound is surrounded by breadfruit trees). The situation commands a fine view of the surrounding islands and sea and faces the cool trade winds. Local informants were agreed that the mound is an *esi* of a former Nomuka chieftain whose name is now forgotten.

Siakanume consists of a circle of dressed, rectangular, coral stones, set up with their long edges uppermost and with ends in close contact with adjoining stones, forming a wall 1 foot high and 0.4 foot to 0.5 foot thick. The circle of stones averages 20 feet in diameter, and encloses an area nearly filled with earth to constitute a level platform. Four monumental stones, each about 2.5 feet in height, rise from the retaining wall to stand respectively at the four approximate cardinal points of the circle. The southernmost of these monuments has the superior corners lopped off so as to form a gently pointed top. Like the stones in the *esi* at Utungake these monumental stones have special shapes, but there is little doubt about the primitive origin of the structure and monuments.

6. Makahokovalu (Eight-stone-pieces) on the northwest shore of the island of Uihā, Haapai.

Makahokovalu *esi* formerly consisted of a rectangular stone enclosure filled with earth to constitute a platform. The side toward the shore is now missing, having been undermined and so destroyed by wave erosion, but some of the large stones originally in the wall lie upon the beach. The remainder of the structure is in fairly good condition, although the flat top is entirely covered with a thick tangle of trees and brush (fig. 4).

The three walls remaining are composed of large, smoothly dressed, rectangular slabs of coral reef limestone which have an average apparent height of 3.7 feet, an

172 average thickness of 0.9 foot and an average length of 10 feet. The largest stone in
 345 the wall is 17.1 feet long, 1.2 feet thick and stands 3.7 feet above the ground. The
 outer edge of a stone in the southernmost wall has been exposed by the action of the
 waves so that its entire height is visible. Of its total height (5.6 feet), 2.8 feet were
 formerly above ground and 2.8 feet below ground. Judging from this approximately
 half of each stone in the retaining wall is buried as a foundation. Thus some of the
 stones must be very large.

The stones are carefully dressed on either end so that the flat end surfaces meet
 snugly. Surfaces and edges are smooth and straight. The corner stones are lapped
 evenly, no rule being observed in regard to which stone is outside in the lapping.
 No existing corner angle is a true right angle.

172 The surface of the stone is soft enough to permit figures to be scratched or chiseled
 345 by means of any reasonably hard, pointed instrument. Incised figures appear on many
 212
 [324]

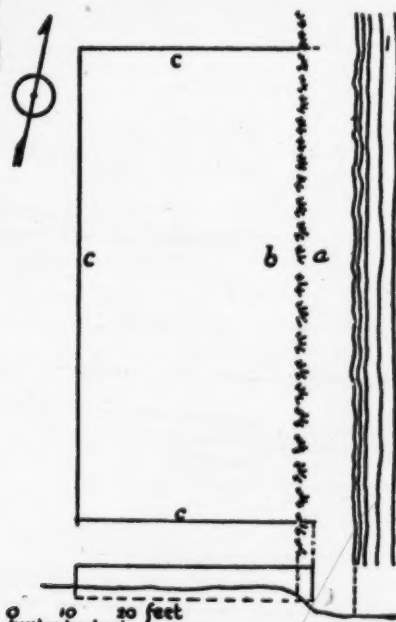


FIGURE 4

FIGURE 4.—Plan of the *esi* Makahokovalu, Uiha Island, Haapai: *a*, beach; *b*, precipitous shore line; *c*, stone retaining wall inclosing a platform 81 feet long and 39 feet wide.

FIGURE 5.—Reproduction of pictographs at the *esi* Makahokovalu.

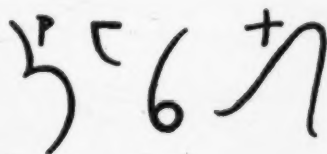


FIGURE 5

[324] stones but are especially numerous on the two stones comprising the northwesternmost corner which are largely covered with incised English letters giving the initials and entire names of Tongans. On the westernmost of these corner stones is also a row

McKern—Tongan Archaeology

of curiously curved and crossed lines that certainly cannot be even the poorest of representations of English letters (fig. 5). A young Tongan, who was present at the time of my visit readily identified these figures as shorthand characters, such as are taught at the Government and Wesleyan colleges at Nukualofa. They are patently modern markings.

Professor Wragge of Auckland is reported to have identified Makahokovalu as a religious site connected with the sun worshipping practices of the primitive Tongans. I have failed to find any archaeological evidence of sun worship, and Gifford (12) reports the absence of any evidence that sun worship was ever practiced by the Tongans. In spite of reports to the contrary, the mound is not intentionally orientated except with reference to the shoreline.

Makahokovalu shows the finest structural workmanship seen in Tongan *esi*. There are more imposing structures from a standpoint of size, particularly height, but in size of the stones in the retaining walls and the degree of skill in masonry, they compare favorably with the best executed langi platform tombs of the ancient Tongan rulers. In fact, this *esi* would be an excellent example of a one-tier langi except for the absence of fine sand or black pebbles, characteristic of the grave mounds. The place is actually referred to as a tomb in one myth recorded by Gifford (13, p. 68).

The name Makahokovalu may possibly be derived from an original number of eight large stones constituting the westernmost wall, only six of which are now in place. No other arrangement of eight stones could be found. In this connection it should be noted that eight seems to have been a favorite number to associate with mounds. For example, Lefeleva (Eight-sexual organs, p. 30): Kafoa, eight-stones at Kafoa (p. 11); Siahalavalu (Mound-of-eight-roads). However, in no one of these three structures was the number eight descriptive of structural peculiarities. It is suggested that the number eight, when so used, may have been a conventional term signifying many, or a well balanced number, and had no numerical significance.

7. Mangafakinanga, near Kolonga, Tongatabu.

The *esi* of Mangafakinanga consists of a rectangular mound with a convex upper surface, surrounded by a low perpendicular wall of dressed coral slabs placed on edge and end to end. It is said to have been the *esi* of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, a famous ancient Tongan monarch generally accredited with the building of the great trilithon (p. 63). The structure is 35 feet long, 21.5 feet wide, and is 3 feet high. The retaining walls average 1 foot in height and 0.7 foot in thickness. Most of the stones of the south wall have been removed in comparatively recent times. The wall stones are about 3 feet long. All stone surfaces are rather smoothly dressed and component parts of the wall fit snugly together. Corner pieces are lapped with no apparent regard as to which piece is outside. The westernmost wall extends in a direction N. 20° E.

Near the northeast corner of the mound and rising from the retaining wall, is a large monumental slab which measures: length above the ground 8.3 feet, width, 5.9 feet, thickness 1.4 to 2 feet. Though leaning inward at an angle of 75° from the

172 horizontal, its original position probably was vertical. Tradition defines this slab as
345 the back rest of the king when seated upon the mound.

8. Siunafuauta, east of Maofanga, Tongatabu, 250 feet from low tide mark near the point of land called Tukutonga. It is described by Cook (4, vol. 1, p. 289) in the following words:

172 At this place is a work of art, which shows, that these people are capable of
345 some design, and perseverance, when they mean to accomplish anything. This work
175 begins on one side, as a narrow causeway, which, becoming gradually broader, rises, with a gentle ascent, to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length seventy-four paces. Joined to this is a sort of circus, whose diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway that joins it, with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side, another causeway of the same sort descends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral stones, with earth on the surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs; and, from its decaying in several places, seems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly, it seems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called Etchee.

172 Siunafuauta stands on level ground, practically in a mangrove swamp
345 called Tafaloto, at a place where the swamp merges with the lagoon.

The structure is a circular, flat-topped mound 18 feet high and 100 feet in diameter at the top. The walls are of rough though smoothly piled pieces of coral stone, and stand at an angle of about 80° from the horizontal. From the southwest an inclined road 24 feet wide and 140 feet long leads to the top of the *esi*. A similar inclined approach ascends from the east. From the top of the mound the road extends 137 feet with a width of 27 feet, then turns northward for 20 feet with a width of 12 feet (Pl. II, C). Both approaches have stone faced sides exactly like those of the mound proper, and are paved with coral gravel. Near the center of the flat top is a circular, flat-bottomed pit 22 feet in diameter and 0.9 foot in depth, walled on the sides with vertical slabs of crudely dressed stone. Individual stones in this ring do not exceed 3 feet in length and are from 0.4 foot to 0.7 foot in thickness.

Except in type of elevation, Siunafuauta resembles Kafoa and, like Kafoa, is the center of controversy as to its original intent and use. Some native residents refer to it as an *esi*; others, as a pigeon mound. Those explaining it as a pigeon mound cite as evidence the central pit and the presence of undisputed pigeon mounds in the immediate neighborhood which seem formerly to have been connected to Siunafuauta by roads paved with coral gravel.

173 On the other hand, an old tale has it that the Tui Tonga Pau, one of the
172 later kings of the ancient dynasty, came to dwell at the point called Tuku-
345 tonga in order to superintend the building of a proposed causeway crossing
the lagoon to Mua, the traditional capital of the Tui Tonga. His sister,
[342] the Tui Tonga Fefine, whose name was Siunafuauta, came with him. The
king then built the large mound as a foundation of a house for his sister

who lived there until Pau died and the causeway project was abandoned. 173
 This narrative does not account for the central pit of the mound (Tongan 172
 houses did not have pits within them), nor does it explain why the Tui 345
 Tonga Fefine should have had such a grand foundation for her house at 342
 this place of temporary dwelling, while neither she nor any other Tongan
 was accustomed to large elevated platforms at their places of permanent
 residence. There is no evidence on the Tukutonga side of the lagoon of 173
 the causeway said to have been begun by Pau and if there is any founda- 172
 tion of truth to the story it seems more probable that a mound, already in 345
 existence, was selected as a suitable site for the house of the Tui Tonga
 Fefine on account of the low, wet ground. But this does not explain the
 purpose for which the mound was originally built. Cook says definitely (175)
 that it was called an "etchee" (*esi*) belonging to the Tui Tonga of his time, [643]
 Poulaho, and that it was of "no modern date," which information sheds
 no light upon the builder or the original use of the structure. It is here
 classed with *esi* because of its remarkable similarity to Kafoa. It may be
 that some mounds, originally built as pigeon mounds, were converted through
 use into *esi*.

PIGEON MOUNDS

CLASSIFICATION

Pigeon mounds or *siaheulupe* (*sia*, mound; *heu*, pigeon snare; *lupe*, 172
 wild pigeon), are natural structures, artificial structures, or artificial struc- 345
 tures situated upon natural risings exclusively employed by chiefs and their 223
 retainers as places to which wild pigeons could easily be decoyed and 565
 snared.

Men of less than chiefly rank often snared pigeons for food using the
heu, a large, two poled net which did not necessarily involve the use of any
 sort of mound. But pigeon snaring as participated in by chieftains was a
 highly organized sport for which the mound was deemed essential. As a
 matter of fact, the practical purpose of the mound is not altogether clear,
 unless it furnished the wielders of the *heu* net an increased elevation, and
 so increased their reach.

In describing the method of snaring pigeons, informants speak of two 172
 types of mounds. Type I, present in all provinces where pigeon mounds 345
 were located, possessed two essential features: (a) a circular platform of 223
 stone, or of earth, supported by stone retaining walls, rising several feet 128
 above the surrounding ground; (b) a centrally located pit averaging 20
 feet in diameter, as deep as the artificial mound was high, and laterally
 lined with perpendicular retaining walls of stone.

172 Briefly, the mound was used as follows: The sportsmen occupied the
 345 structure, some on the mound surface where they manipulated the *heu* poles,
 223 and some in the pit to take the pigeons from the snare. Captive pigeons,
 attached to long cords, were allowed to fly among the tree tops above the
 mound where they served as decoys to attract their wild kin. When the
 wild pigeons came, lured by the calls of the decoys, the *heu* manipulators
 dropped the net over them and brought them down into the pit, where they
 were caught and disposed of by the men assigned to that task.

The mounds of Type II lacked the large, deep, central pit of Type I.
 In its place was a depression 15 to 20 feet in diameter and seldom more
 than 1 foot in depth. One informant explained that the *heu* manipulators
 lay prone in these depressions, but such an explanation, unsupported by
 corroborative testimony, is of doubtful value. No good argument offers
 itself to show the practical necessity for a pit of any character in such
 structures, but the shallow type of pit seems especially useless. These
 shallow pits might be regarded as more or less useless survivals of the
 more archaic, deeply pitted mounds, but no evidence for such an assumption
 is apparent. In the following descriptions of pigeon mounds only arti-
 ficial ones are included.

MOUNDS IN VAVAU

1. Kaufotutata, on the eastern outskirts of the town of Utungake, Utun-
 gake Island, Vavau, Type I.

[491] Kaufotutata stands on a natural rising overlooking the sea to the north. Its mea-
 surements are: diameter at base, 100 feet; diameter at top, 80 feet; height, depending
 upon ground contour, 3 to 7 feet. Its sloping sides are faced with a compact layer
 of rough coral stones. The pit, originally about 19 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep,
 has recently been filled to allow a house to be built. Its sides are vertically walled
 with stones like those used in the outer wall. From the south, a dirt road 20 feet long
 and 6 feet wide leads to the top of the mound. The stone work of the mound is con-
 tinued along the road with similar slopes. This pigeon mound was built, according
 to tradition, by a prince of the Tui Tonga family named Moka.

Other pigeon mounds are reported from Vavau, but these were not
 located, unless Kafoa (p. 11) served at times in that capacity.

MOUNDS ON UALEVA

[223] Judging from the number of pigeon mounds, the island of Ualeva,
 Haapai, must have had at one time an enviable reputation as a place for
 [173] pigeon snaring. Local informants agree that these were built by Matau-
 vave I, who was the first known administrator of Haapai to be appointed
 by the Tongan kings. Geneological evidence places the time for his assum-
 ing this office at about 1540-1550 A. D.

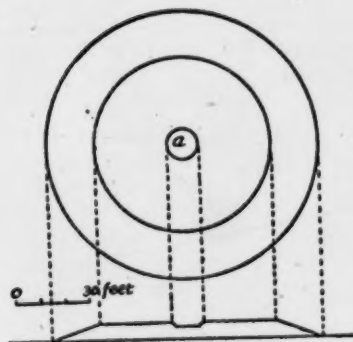


FIGURE 6

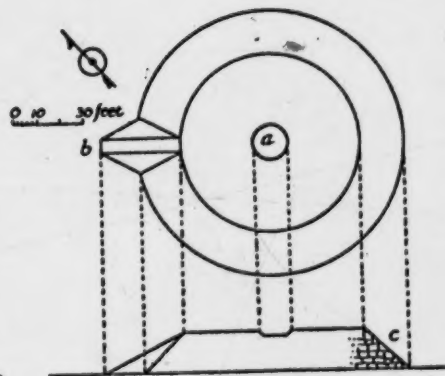


FIGURE 7

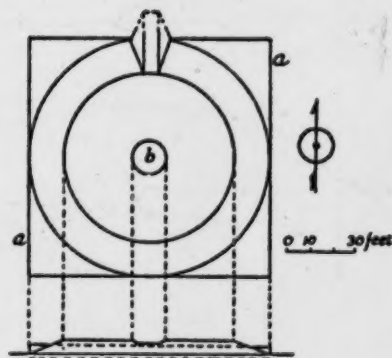


FIGURE 8

FIGURE 6.—Plan of pigeon mound Pinevalafililolo, Ualeva Island, Haapai, height 7 feet, diameter at base 105 feet, diameter at top 75 feet; a, pit on top, diameter 14 feet, depth 1 foot, slope of sides 30° .

FIGURE 7.—Plan of pigeon mound Siaulufotu, Ualeva Island, height 17 feet, diameter at base 115 feet, diameter at top 75 feet; a, pit on top, diameter 15 feet, depth 1 foot, slope of sides 30° ; b, approach, length 35 feet, width 6 feet, slope of sides 40° ; c, veneer of stone work.

FIGURE 8.—Plan of pigeon mound Tulikitauiha, Ualeva Island, height 3 feet, diameter at base 104 feet, diameter at top 74 feet; a, rectangular retaining wall; b, stone walled pit 12 feet in diameter, 1 foot deep; c, approach 20 feet long, 6 feet wide.

128 The following descriptions include all of the pigeon mounds which a
 172 thorough survey of the island could discover. The accuracy of the names
 345 cannot be vouched for, as they were supplied by a single informant, the only
 [124] man found who professed to have any knowledge of the names. Three
 mounds, Nos. 8, 9, and 10, are classed as pigeon mounds because closely
 associated with structures known to be pigeon mounds. Native informants
 were of the opinion that they were used by the pigeon snarers in some
 capacity, possibly as temporary dwelling sites for the chiefs engaged in
 the sport. They are like the pigeon mounds which they neighbor except
 for the absence of any trace of a central pit or basin.

172 2. Finevalafililolo, in central southern Ualeva, Type II (fig. 6).
 345

Finevalafililolo is composed of a mixture of sand and earth. The centrally placed
 pit has retaining walls of dressed rectangular slabs of coral stone averaging 3.5 feet in
 length, 0.7 foot in thickness and standing 2 feet out of the ground. The flat floor of the
 basin is of earth. The mound is surrounded at irregular intervals by ten funnel-shaped
 pits averaging 10 feet in depth and 25 to 30 feet in diameter, situated from 25 to 75
 feet from the mound base. They are said to have furnished the earth from which the
 mound is constructed.

3. Siaulufotu, at the south end of Ualeva Island, Type II (fig. 7).

The sloping sides of Siaulufotu are surfaced with stone work consisting of an inner
 base of rough, loosely piled fragments and an outer coating intact only in places,
 of rectangular, roughly dressed slabs laid flat, their edges fitting together haphazardly
 (fig. 7, c). These slabs are 2 to 6 feet long, 1.5 to 4 feet wide and 0.3 foot to 0.5 foot
 thick. The largest slab in place measures 6 by 4 feet by 0.5 foot. The central depres-
 sion is surrounded by rectangularly dressed slabs of stone averaging slightly more
 than 3 feet in length, 0.6 foot in thickness, and which stand 2 feet above ground and
 [49] 1 foot below the bottom of the flat earthen floored basin. A steeply inclined dirt road-
 way from the northwest leading to the top of the mound is paved with rough stones
 of varying sizes, their flat sides turned upward to make a comparatively smooth surface.

[35] Siaulufotu is entirely surrounded by a ditch or series of connected pits, 30 feet
 wide and 12 feet deep, which stands 40 to 50 feet from the mound base. It is thought
 172 to have furnished earth for the construction of the mound. Near the northernmost
 312 base of the mound is a flat bottomed well called Vaisioata (Water-mirror). Its walls
 are of loose, roughly piled stone and slant outward from the base at an angle of about
 15° from the perpendicular. The rim of the well is 8 feet in diameter and the depth
 3 feet, of which 1 foot is under water. The bottom appears to be partly filled with loose
 172 debris. About 50 feet east of the mound was found a quarry site where stone for
 316 the structure may have been obtained. At this place about a foot of surface soil had
 been removed, exposing coral "sandstone" which has been cut through in a way to
 suggest the removal of rectangular slabs.

172 4. Unnamed mound, Ualeva Island, Type II.
 345

This mound consists of a circular pile of earth with a horizontally flat top. It is
 3 to 4 feet high and has a base diameter of 82 feet and a top diameter of 72 feet.
 The earthen floor of the basin is horizontally flat. Its sides are supported by dressed
 rectangular slabs of stone practically all the same size, about 3 feet long, 0.6 foot
 thick, and 2 feet out of the ground. Several large funnel-shaped excavations near the
 mound probably indicate the source of material for the construction.

5. Tulikitauiha, on Ualeva Island, Type II (fig. 8).

Tulikitauiha is a flat-topped circular pile of earth. The centrally located basin has marginal walls like those of the other mounds on Ualeva. This mound is unique in that it is surrounded by a stone wall about the base, which outlines a square area. Many of the stones have apparently been removed, but enough remain to outline a rectangle with sides tangent to the mound base. The stones used are dressed, rectangular slabs set up on edge and in contact end to end. The largest is 3 feet long, 0.8 foot thick, and stands 3 feet above the ground. The other stones are only slightly smaller, all of an even height. Upon excavation, the base of one stone proved to be 2.5 feet below ground. The remains of what was undoubtedly an inclined earthen approach ascending the mound, is to be seen on the north side of the structure. Its exact original dimensions could not be determined. The many large, funnel-shaped pits scattered about the mound average 7 feet in depth and 20 feet in diameter.

6. Tunueteikakaekaietefeke or Tunueteifekekaekaieteka. I could not find a mound of this name said to be on Ualeva Island. It may be one of the unnamed mounds.

7. Siatoloke on the southwest end of Ualeva Island, close to the sea-shore, Type II (fig. 9).

This doubtfully identified mound is circular, flat-topped, and is approached by two sloping roadways. The sloping sides of both mound and approaches are made of stone slabs of various sizes, most of them so small as to be conveniently handled by one man. Although not dressed, each stone has parallel flat surfaces due to natural bedding. The stones paving the sides of the mound proper are piled with flat surfaces together and outer edges matched to constitute a smooth surface parallel to the slope of the structure (fig. 9, e). Both the top of the mound and the inclined approaches are covered with a mixture of flat slabs of all sizes and rough stones, which forms a fairly smooth pavement. A large, flat, stone slab of irregular outline marks the top and bottom of the paved roadway of each of the ascending approaches.

8. Siamaka (Stone-mound, probably a recent appellation), in the central southern part of Ualeva Island (fig. 10).

Siamaka is a circular structure fashioned from rough, naturally shaped, coralline stones of varying sizes, piled loosely but with some idea of maintaining a smooth exterior surface. It is probable that only the exterior surface of the mound is of stone, as there are a number of sizable excavations adjoining the mound where material may have been obtained for building the structure. The flat top has no central pit nor other special feature except a stone pavement. It is now entirely overgrown with brush and trees.

9. Siakape, a short distance to the southeast of Finevalililolo (No. 2).

Siakape is a circular, flat-topped earthen mound, without a central basin or pit in the top. It is 15 feet high and has a diameter at the bottom of 125 feet, and at the top of 65 feet. Like similar mounds, it is surrounded by an irregular circle of funnel-shaped pits which average 10 feet in depth and 30 feet in diameter and are placed 50 to 100 feet from the mound base.

10. Unnamed mound on Ualeva Island (fig. 11).

This mound is a circular, straight-sided, flat-topped, earthen structure without a pit or basin on the top. Inclined roads ascend to the mound top, from the northeast

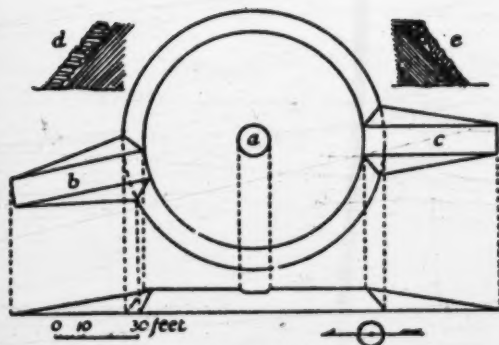


FIGURE 9

FIGURE 9.—Plan of pigeon mound Siatoloke, Ualeva Island, height 8 feet, diameter of base 94.7 feet, diameter of top 80.7 feet: a, pit, 12 feet in diameter, 1 foot deep; b, ramp, 11.4 feet wide; c, ramp, 11.9 feet wide, slope of sides 39°; d, cross section of ramp showing structure; e, cross section of mound showing structure of retaining wall.

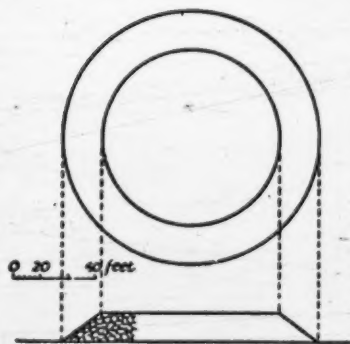


FIGURE 10

FIGURE 10.—Plan of pigeon mound Siamaka, Ualeva Island, height 10 feet, diameter at base 95 feet, diameter at top 65 feet.

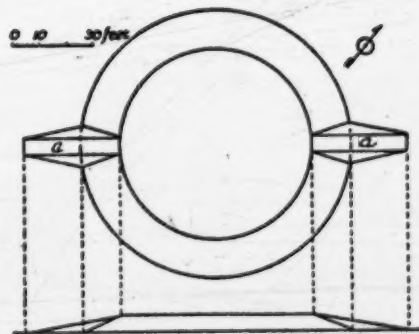


FIGURE 11

FIGURE 11.—Plan of unnamed pigeon mound, Ualeva Island, height 6 + feet, diameter of base 100 feet, diameter of top 70 feet: a, earth ramps 35 feet long.

172
 345

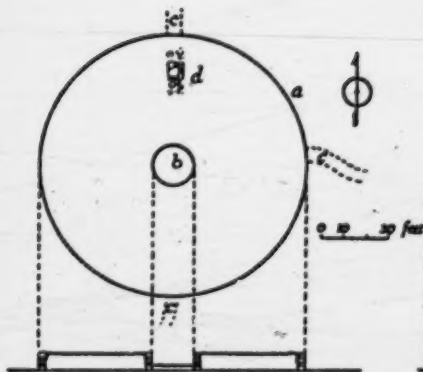


FIGURE 12

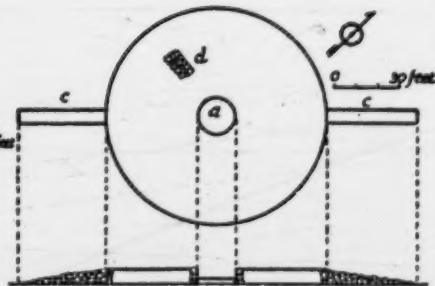


FIGURE 13

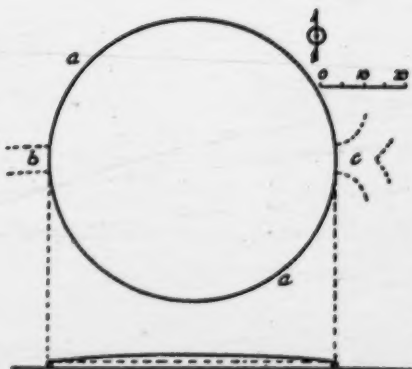


FIGURE 14

FIGURE 12.—Plan of pigeon mound Siaheulupe, Tongatabu, height 5-6 feet, diameter of base 119 feet: a, outer retaining wall of stone; b, central pit 19 feet in diameter, 4 feet deep; c, gravel roads leading from mound base, 6 feet wide; d, remains of stone pavement on platform top.

FIGURE 13.—Plan of unnamed pigeon mound, Tongatabu, height 6.5 feet, diameter of base 100 feet: a, central pit 18 feet in diameter, 4 feet deep; b, outer retaining wall; c, stone ramps; d, pavement-like structure on platform.

FIGURE 14.—Plan of pigeon mound Siamontao, Maofanga, Tongatabu, height 3.5 feet, diameter at base 65 feet: a, stone retaining wall; b, c, gravel roads leading from mound base.

172
345
491

172 and from the southwest. The mound is surrounded by series of connected, funnel-
 345 shaped pits, averaging 30 feet in diameter and 8 feet in depth.

MOUNDS ON TATAFA, NUKUNAMA, AND HAANO

In the Haapai group Matauvave I is said to have built a pigeon mound on the island of Tatafa. Other pigeon mounds which were not examined are reported as situated on the islands of Nukunama and Haano. A mound on Haano near the town Muitoa, is called Siakotoloke.

MOUNDS ON TONGATABU

The only pigeon mounds observed on Tongatabu are situated east of the town of Maofanga, south of the Tukutonga point, in the mangrove swamp called Tafaloto.

11. Siaheulupe (Pigeon-snaring-mound). Type I (fig. 12).

About one-fourth mile southwest of the mound Siunafuata (p. 18). Siaheulupe is a circular, flat-topped platform, with a vertical outside retaining wall built of closely piled fragments of rough stone. The walls of the centrally placed circular pit are identical in shape and structure to the outside retaining walls.

172 Three roads lead away from the foot of the mound. Each consists of two parallel
 491 rows of rough stones averaging 1 foot in thickness, between which is a fill of coral gravel several inches deep. The roads wander about in a haphazard fashion and disappear for considerable stretches where high tide water has washed the materials away. One road extends north to the sea, another extends east and entirely disappears at a distance of about 200 yards. The third road extends south for a short distance before disappearing. In line with the north road the top mound surface is marked by a pile
 [345] of stones that suggest a pavement between the central pit and the outer wall. No similar paved areas are to be seen in line with the other two roads.

172 12. Unnamed mound about 835 yards south of Siunafuata, Type II 345 (fig. 13).

172 In most respects this mound is exactly like Siakotoloke (No. 7), and the coral
 491 paved roads approaching the two mounds are similar. The southwestern road disappears
 [345] soon after leaving the mound. The northeastern road can be followed for about 300 yards before it is lost in the tide washes of the swamp. Upon approaching the mound these roads rise to its top surface, along gradual inclines about 40 feet long and retained by stone walls exactly like those supporting the sides of the mound. West of the central pit is a bed of large stones entirely out of line with the roadways and more like a filled depression than a pavement (fig. 13, d). It can best be described as a roughly
 172 rectangular hole nearly filled with large stone fragments. A close examination dis-
 345 closed no evidence of fire.

13. Siamoatao, 380 yards south of the mound Siaheulupe (fig. 14).

Siamoatao is a circular mound and has a gently convex top surface. The surrounding perpendicular wall of rough, loosely piled stones is only 1.7 feet in height but the mound is 3.5 feet high at its center. Two roads, paved with coral gravel, approach the mound without inclining upward to its level. The western of these roads divides immediately upon leaving the mound, one branch curving towards the south, the other

towards the north. Both of these branches can be traced for several hundred yards of meandering course before they become too indistinct to follow. A second road extends eastward from the mound for a short distance and then disappears.

There is no central pit or other surface peculiarity on Siamoatao, which brings to mind the similarly pitless mounds on the island of Ualeva (Nos. 8, 9 and 10). The suggestion that such mounds may have been temporary abodes of chieftains engaged in pigeon snaring is here repeated as no other explanation is known.

The roads associated with these mounds probably served to furnish dry access to them across the surrounding swamp. Their technical structure constitutes a unique feature not observed elsewhere in old Tongan roads (p. 89).

UNCLASSIFIED MOUNDS

1. Tuavavau, several miles northwest of the town of Utungake, on the island of Utungake, Vavau (fig. 15).

According to a tradition recorded by Gifford (13, p. 202), Tuavavau was the name of a beautiful girl who lived on this mound. The story is that many lovers camped about the mound where they could often see her. Among

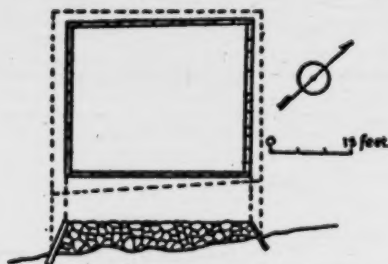


FIGURE 15.—Plan of Tuavavau, Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau, height 2 to 6 feet, length at top 35 feet, width at top 29 feet.

these was the great chieftain Tuilakepa. Finally their unsought attentions drove the girl to distraction and she leaped over the cliff into the sea. There is said originally to have been a circle of small mounds about this structure, the sites for the houses of the many lovers. None of these mounds could be located. Intensive agricultural pursuits about the place may well have destroyed them, if they ever really existed.

Tuavavau is an artificial rectangular structure, built upon a rocky elevation near the shore commanding an excellent view of the surrounding country. The entire mound is solidly built of undressed slabs of coral "sandstone," save for a surfacing which consists of a row of dressed rectangular slabs set up on edge along the sides which stand at a slope of about 70°. The straight sides of the platform are placed quarterwise with

In this manner was the Haamonga built. All the common men of Heketa and many men from the outlying districts of Tongatabu were assembled. The stones, of a variety called *okeho* (coral limestone), were cut out from the cliff face on the shoreline just north of the site selected for the structure. This is the kind of stone that forms the bedrock for all this part of the island. When the three great stones had been shaped, they were dragged over wooden skids, by means of heavy ropes and the combined muscular power of many men, to the construction site. The two pits where the columns were to stand were then dug. There followed the erecting of a perpendicular retaining wall of trees and brush, situated closely parallel to the line of the two excavations. This wall constituted the vertical front of an earthen mound or inclined plane of a height sufficient to serve in the following manner. The two uprights were dragged over skids, endwise and prone on edge, up the slope of the artificial incline. Besides the wooden skids and ropes, the implements employed included blocking wedges and levers, to be used in emergencies. At the top of the incline the stones were projected over the edge of the vertical retaining wall until nicely balanced, and then carefully directed to fall endwise, while guided by ropes, into the pits prepared for them. This done, the lintel was transported up the incline in the same manner, but with the lateral edge foremost, and directed to drop into the mortises in the tops of the upright pieces. Then the earthen incline was removed, leaving the trilithon in position. A large irregular pile of earth in the near neighborhood of the monument is said to be the material removed in leveling the construction mound.

Tamale's account of origin and construction is so detailed and logical, coming as it does from a very old man who neither speaks nor reads any language other than his own and who is highly respected by natives and Europeans alike as an authority on the traditional history of his district, that it must be accepted as a weighty part of the available evidence.

The name Haamongaamaui (*haamonga*, the burden carried on a carrying-stick called *haamo*; a, of; Maui, a god and culture hero) is probably derived from the myth according to which Maui Kisikisi brought the trilithon from Uvea to Tonga, carrying it on his shoulders. It has been argued that this myth indicates that the stones constituting the structure were brought from Uvea. While such a feat may have been possible, a preponderance of the available evidence stands against it. It is a common thing in Tonga to find mythological origins ascribed to things of known historical origin. Furthermore, limestone employed in the structure is identical with the country rock immediately surrounding the monument, while Uvea is basically volcanic in formation.

It is hard to see just how the trilithon would tend to decrease the possibility of dissension between the two sons of Tuitatui without including a belief in sympathetic magic. The two columns were named after the two sons and it is possible that the belief existed that as long as the two representations of the brothers were united by the lintel-piece, there could be no breaking of brotherly relations. According to Gifford (11) Tuitatui reigned in the early part of the eleventh century.

Prince Tungi believes that the Haamonga was erected for playing a game called *kopai kolo*. The existing structure may have been used in playing

172 this game, but it is unlikely that it was built for such a purpose. The game
349 was played by children and it is hard to conceive of the laborious construction
173 of such an imposing piece of work to accommodate the playtime fancy of
[349] children.

The small basin cut into the top of the lintel is not explained. Tamale was positive that it was cut out long after the building of the monument, but he could not suggest its intended purpose.

OTHER MONUMENTS

172 There are said to be two stone monoliths on the island of Niuatoputapu
349 which, according to tradition, were erected by the culture hero Mui. They
are named Fakafafa and Tauloto. Nothing of their origin or purpose could
be ascertained.

Monumental stones in the retaining walls of many langis are described on pp. 36-62.

1777]

THE FACE-OF 'EUA

[157

Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for Hogs and Yams, of the first we got but few but of the latter plenty. I put a shore at this island the Sheep I gave to Mariwaggy, viz a Ram and two Ewes of the Cape breed; they were intrusted to the care of Ta-oo-fa who seemed to be proud of his charge. As the Dogs had not yet got to this island I looked upon it to be the properest place for sheep.

SUNDAY 13th. The 13th in the after noon a party of us traveled to the top of the highest hill in order to have a View of the interior parts of the island. About half way we crossed a deep Valley, whose bottom and sides were clothed with timber, though composed of hardly any thing but coral rock, which, as was observed on Tongatabu, was perforated into all those holes and inequalities we find it on the Sea Coast, though this could not be less than two or three hundred feet above the level of the Sea. Indeed we found the same Coral till we began to approach the summits of the highest hills, these were chiefly composed of yellowish soft sandy stone. The soil for the most part is a redish Cley which in many places seemed to be very deep.¹ On the very summit of the highest hill is raised a round platform or Mount of earth, supported by a wall of Coral stone, which to bring so high must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this Mount was raised by order of their Chief and that they sometimes met there to drink Cava²—there being a spring of very good Water not many paces from it, and about a mile lower down a runing stream which we were told finds its way to the Sea when the rains are copious; we also met with Water in many little holes so that by digging no doubt but great plenty would be found. From this hill we had a full View of the whole island except a part of the south point; the se side from which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Medows, of which here are some of great extent, lay all on the nw side; and as they are

¹ 'Eua geologically is an interesting combination of the coral and the volcanic island. Coralline limestone was deposited on an underwater volcanic base; then renewed volcanic activity was followed by intermittent uplift, and later tilting which made the east and south sides higher than the west and north ones. Hence the combination of coral rock, soft volcanic tuff and volcanic soil which Cook describes in these last two sentences, and the landscape he describes further on. Parts of the island were naturally very fertile. To the tributes printed in II, p. 260, n. 4 may now be added one from Edgar. 'This little Island may be stiled the Montpelier of the Friendly Isles—the Land is higher than any of the others, and affords some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World the greatest part of this Island is not planted the Earth or Soil of which bears the Strongest resemblance to red Ocre—tho' there is great abundance of every thing for it's inhabitants the Walks are enchanting and the whole Island is a little Paradise.'

² It was an *ari*, or 'rest-mound', a mound built for a particular chief, in some advantageous spot, where he might take his ease, and recreate his spirit with the view, which Cook goes on to describe. Sometimes the ownership would lie in the whole chiefly family. The Tongans were very conscious of natural beauty, as well as of the pleasure of cooling breezes.